

## Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT MURREY MARDER PAGE ONE BYLINER  
WASHINGTON POST MONDAY DECEMBER 27 HEADED "CARTER MAY  
BE ONE-MAN SHOW -- FOREIGN POLICY MANAGERS."

2. PRESIDENT KENNEDY ONCE REMARKED THAT WHILE DOMESTIC  
PROBLEMS CAN CAUSE DESPAIR, FOREIGN POLICY "CAN KILL YOU."

3. PRESIDENT-ELECT JIMMY CARTER, WHO CITES KENNEDY AS  
A MODEL, HAS DISPLAYED HIGH SENSITIVITY TO THAT ADMONI-  
TION. IN MAKING HIS FOREIGN POLICY SELECTIONS FOR HIS  
CABINET, CARTER HAS SOUGHT TO REINFORCE HIS OWN VERY  
LIMITED EXPERIENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS BY NAMING VETERANS  
OF THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS.

4. CARTER'S APPOINTMENTS ARE A RECOGNITION THAT THE  
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EARLY, FORMULATIVE STAGES OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN  
BE ITS MOST HAZARDOUS TIME.

5. THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION WAS BADLY THROWN OFF  
BALANCE DURING ITS FIRST MONTHS BY THE ILL-CONCEIVED  
CUBAN BAY OF PIGS INVASION, ORIGINALLY PLANNED BY THE  
EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION. THE VIETNAM WAR, PASSED ON

BY THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION TO THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, IS A PAINFULLY SHARED EXPERIENCE AMONG CARTER'S APPOINTEES WHO WILL SHAPE FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

6. CARTER HAS CHOSEN TO TREAT THE BATTLE SCARS OF THESE APPOINTEES AS EXPERIENCE PLUSES, NOT DEBITS, FOR MANAGING THE TRIALS AHEAD FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION.

7. BY APPOINTING MANAGERS, RATHER THAN GLOBAL PLANNERS, TO THE STATE, DEFENSE AND TREASURY DEPARTMENTS, CARTER HAS RESERVED PRIMACY FOR HIMSELF TO LAUNCH "A NEW THRUST OF CREATIVITY IN FOREIGN POLICY EQUAL TO THAT OF THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE SECOND WORLD WAR." THIS POLICY, HE HAS PLEDGED, WILL HELP "TO RESTORE THE MORALE AND SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" BY SEEKING A HIGHER GOAL THAN "POWER POLITICS."

8. BUT, BEFORE ANY ADMINISTRATION CAN CREATE, IT MUST COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS IT INHERITS; THEY, IN TURN, USUALLY IMPOSE THEIR OWN SHAPE ON THE INTENDED GLOBAL DESIGN.

9. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, UNLIKE RECENT PREDECES- SORS, IS FORTUNATE IN HAVING INHERITED NEITHER A WAR NOR AN IMMINENT THREAT OF A SHOOTING CRISIS.

10. THERE ARE POTENTIAL CRISES AHEAD, HOWEVER, SOME  
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WITH RELATIVELY SHORT FUSES.

11. ONE IS THE CHOICE SAUDI ARABIA SHREWDLY HAS POSED IN THE FORM OF AN OVERTURE TO THE UNITED STATES. BY HOLDING ITS OIL PRICES TO A 5 PER CENT INCREASE, SAUDI ARABIA HAS HEADED OFF A LARGER INCREASE ONLY IF THERE IS AMERICAN PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT ON TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARAB NATIONS. THIS IS A TWO-EDGED SWORD, EVEN THOUGH CARTER HAS WELCOMED SAUDI ARABIA'S MODERATION ON OIL PRICES.

12. ANOTHER CLOUD ON THE HORIZON IS THE RISK OF ESCALATING BLACK-WHITE WARFARE IN AFRICA. THIS COULD BRING IN OUTSIDE FORCES, AS SOVIET-BACKED CUBAN TROOPS ENTERED THE ANGOLA WAR, IF PEACE TALKS FOR MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA SHOULD COLLAPSE.

13. MORE THAN 100 ISSUES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO BE PASSED ON TO THE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION.

14. THE MOST COMMON DENOMINATOR OF TROUBLES IS THE MOUNTING IMPACT OF ECONOMICS ON THE STABILITY OF NATIONS.

15. DEBTS PILED UP IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, AND IN POORER NATIONS WHICH DEMAND DEBT RELIEF FROM THE WEST AND PRICE GUARANTEES FOR THEIR EXPORTS, ALMOST EQUAL THE EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL OF A SHOOTING WAR. COGNIZANT OF THIS DANGER, CARTER, WHILE DECLARING HE INTENDS TO AVOID FOREIGN TRAVEL DURING HIS FIRST YEAR, HAS LEFT  
&PBN-ATTENDIN  
OPEN ATTENDANCE AT A WESTERN SUMMIT CONFERENCE URGED BY FRENCH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING ON WORLD ECONOMIC DANGERS.

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16. IF CARTER ADHERES TO HIS PRESENT VIEWS, HE WOULD PRECLUDE AN EARLY MEETING WITH SOVIET LEADER LEONID I. BREZHNEV, AS WELL AS WITH THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN PEKING.

17. CARTER'S DECLARED INTENTION IS TO REDUCE CONCENTRATION ON SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, AND TO BROADEN TIES WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY ALLIES AND THE POORER NATIONS OF THE SO-CALLED THIRD WORLD.

18. HOWEVER, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION CANNOT ASSUME THAT THE TRIANGULAR BALANCE IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES GAINS THE ADVANTAGE FROM HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IS IMMUTABLE. THE SOVIET UNION IS DETERMINED TO REDUCE THE AMERICAN BENEFIT BY IMPROVING ITS OWN RELATIONS WITH CHINA, WHILE THE EXPANSION OF U.S. TIES WITH CHINA HAS LANQUISHED.

19. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S EAST-WEST OUTLOOK HAS BEEN ONLY SKETCHILY DEFINED.

20. CARTER HAS PROJECTED A TOUGHER STAND ON BARGAINING WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BUT HE ALSO HAS PUT A TOP PRIORITY ON COMPLETING THE STALLED U.S.-SOVIET STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT) AND PRESSING FOR REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARMS LEVELS.

21. CARTER'S APPOINTMENTS REFLECT THIS OBJECTIVE. SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND FUTURE DEFENSE SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN SHARE THE SAME INTEREST,

ALONG WITH NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISER ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI. BRZEZINSKI HAS SERVED RENEWED PUBLIC NOTICE THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SIMULTANEOUSLY INTENDS TO SEE THAT AMERICAN-SOVIET DETENTE IS "MORE RECIPROCAL

AND...PROGRESSIVELY BECOMES MORE COMPREHENSIVE."

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22. A REQUISITE FOR ENDING THE SALT DEADLOCK IS RESOLVING THE PROLONGED STATE-DEFENSE BATTLE OVER THE U.S. NEGOTIATING POSITION. DEPARTING SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER HAS MAINTAINED IN PRIVATE THAT THIS REQUIRES "SPILLING A LITTLE BLOOD" AT THE PENTAGON, ESPECIALLY TO OVERRIDE MILITARY DEMANDS FOR LONG-RANGE, SEA-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES.

23. WITH BROWN AT DEFENSE, THAT RESISTANCE PRESUMABLY WILL BE OVERCOME, PERHAPS WITH TRADE-OFFS, BUT NOT WITHOUT STRONG OPPOSITION FROM INFLUENTIAL SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON (D-WASH.) AND OTHERS WHO ARE SOUNDING ALARM OVER INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUPS.

24. KISSINGER'S OLD ADVERSARY IN THE NIXON AND FORD ADMINISTRATIONS ON SALT AND DETENTE STRATEGY, FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES R. SCHLESINGER, WILL REAPPEAR IN THE CARTER WHITE HOUSE AS ENERGY POLICY CHIEF."

25. ALTHOUGH SCHLESINGER'S DOMAIN WILL BE ENERGY, THAT INCLUDES NUCLEAR POWER AND WEAPONRY. SCHLESINGER'S FORCEFULNESS AND INTELLECT, WHICH SO IMPRESSED CARTER, COULD SUPPLY MORE THAN PHILOSOPHICAL DIVERSITY IN THE NEW INNER CIRCLE.

26. DOZENS OF PENDING CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES WILL REQUIRE EARLY DETAILED OF FOREIGN POLICY DIRECTIONS THAT WERE GENERALITIES IN THE CARTER CAMPAIGN.

27. CARTER, LAST WEEK, REITERATED HIS DETERMINATION TO REMOVE, IN SLOW STAGES AND AFTER CONSULTATION, THE 40,000 AMERICAN TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA. THIS IS AN EXTREMELY CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE FOR JAPAN AND AMERICAN MILITARY STRATEGISTS, AS WELL AS FOR SOUTH KOREA.

28. NEGOTIATIONS NOW COMING TO A CLIMAX WITH PANAMA  
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OVER FUTURE U.S. CONTROL OF THE CANAL WILL SUPPLY A BASIC TEST OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S LATIN AMERICAN POLICY, AS WELL AS OF ITS SKILL IN HANDLING CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPPOSITION AND EMOTIONS.

29. AGREEMENTS ARE PENDING TO TRY TO END THE CLASH

BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESS OVER THE GREEK-TURKISH-CYPRUS DISPUTE. FOUR-YEAR PACTS WOULD SUPPLY TURKEY WITH \$1 BILLION AND GREECE WITH \$700 MILLION IN U.S. AID AND CREDITS. THE PHILIPPINES HAS BALKED AT A SIMILAR AGREEMENT ON AID AND U.S. BASES FOR \$1 BILLION IN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT OVER FIVE YEARS.

30. COUNTERPOISED AGAINST THESE AND OTHER PROPOSALS IS CARTER'S CAMPAIGN INSISTENCE THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST LIMIT THE "UNSAVORY BUSINESS" OF OPERATING AS "THE WORLD'S LEADING ARMS SALESMAN." AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST DECIDE, FOR EXAMPLE, IF IT WILL SELL PAKISTAN A LARGE FLEET OF AMERICAN BOMBERS, PAID FOR BY SAUDI ARABIA, TO FORESTALL PAKISTAN'S PURCHASE OF A FRENCH NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT, WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS ANXIOUS TO PREVENT.

31. IN EVERY PART OF THE GLOBE THERE ARE U.S. INTERESTS AND COUNTERVAILING OBJECTIVES, WITH FEW EASY CHOICES.

32. CARTER'S TOP APPOINTEES START OFF WITH MANY SIMILAR WORLD VIEWPOINTS. CARTER, VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT WALTER F. MONDALE, VANCE AND BROWN ALL HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION, ORIGINATED AND FORMERLY DIRECTED BY BREZEZINSKI, TO ENCOURAGE CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN AND NORTH AMERICA. ANOTHER COMMISSION MEMBER IS REP. ANDREW YOUNG (D-GA), AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

33. TREASURY SECRETARY-DESIGNATE W. MICHAEL BLUMENTHAL, UNCLASSIFIED  
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WHO SHARES A SIMILAR GLOBAL OUTLOOK, IS PROBABLY THE MOST DYNAMIC MEMBER OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. BLUMENTHAL WILL BE A POTENT CHALLENGER FOR LEADERSHIP AMONG THE MANAGERS OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY, ALTHOUGH ALL THE KEY PLAYERS ARE SUPPOSEDLY DETERMINED TO FORECLOSE THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW ALL-POWERFUL KISSINGER.

34. NONE OF THESE PRINCIPALS, HOWEVER, COMES TO WORK WITH ANY CELEBRATED REPUTATION FOR THE LARGEST CARTER COMMITMENT: TO "EVOLVE AND CONSUMMATE OUR FOREIGN POLICY OPENLY AND FRANKLY" WITH BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC, IN A NEW AWAKENING OF PRINCIPLE AND HIGH MORAL STANDARDS.

35. HOW THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WILL FUNCTION IN PRACTICE, WHO WILL PROVE CENTRAL OR MARGINAL, ARE THEREFORE, AS IN ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION, OPEN QUESTIONS.

(END TEXT.)

ROBINSON

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